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seated enmity to Southern institutions which is ready to overleap the bounds of the Constitution. That is what justly awakens the solicitude of the Southern people and makes it hard for them to wait and give his administration a fair trial. But they should, and we hope they will. It seems as if certain cotton states were about to go off by themselves and form a Cotton Confederacy totally regardless of other states which do not recognize Cotton as their King. This is a poor way to uphold the rights of the South. Though we consider the Black Republican crusade incompatible with the existence of the Union, we trust the South will not take any extreme action. Lincoln has been constitutionally elected, and his elevation to power can no longer be resisted save by naked and palpable revolution" (page 475).

The decision of Lincoln to coerce the seceding cotton states caused the feeling in them to be practically unanimous for secession, and they were joined almost immediately by Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

The volume fittingly closes with a quotation from Lincoln's inaugural address, the final lines of which are so prophetic of today—"The mystic chords of memory . . . will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

WILLIAM STARR MYERS.

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PAN-GERMANISM. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. pp. 314. \$1.75.

The treatment of contemporary problems of world politics by a capable historical scholar is so much to be desired that one is apt to feel strong inclination to welcome the writer who undertakes it; moreover, the difficulties which he must encounter are so great that some leniency and sympathy are apt to be felt as a matter of course. On the other hand, he who attempts to write a book of this kind undertakes a task which involves grave responsibility. There is a large class of readers to whom no history would be more interesting or of more practical value, in so much as they would be enabled better to appreciate the forces in play about them, of which they themselves make a part. The

impossibility of obtaining certain masses of source material upon which such a study must rest, and also the difficulty of getting the true proportion of that which is so near at hand, make it all the more desirable that such work should be done by those familiar with the best methods. It is not to be doubted that many historical students look upon writing of this kind with suspicion and contempt, so that it is all the worse when a book appears which merits some of this obloquy.

In dealing with the history of an earlier period the scholar finds archives open and information at his disposal, and in so far as there is existing material which bears upon his subject, he can, when his research is complete and criticism has done its part, reach positive conclusions and make categorical statements. But in dealing with recent history the case is very different. Not the statesmen themselves who guide the destinies of nations can be sure of the immediate or the ultimate results of the forces which they set in motion, while only to these men and a small circle of their fellow-workers are known the diplomatic papers which ought to be for the writer one of his most important documentary sources. It is not to be gainsaid that a vast amount of material,—statistics, government reports, and legislative proceedings, are placed at his disposal with a profusion never thought of in former times; while for the interpretation of that difficult thing, public opinion, he has an enormous amount of pamphlet and newspaper material, difficult to use principally because there is so much of it. In dealing with all this he has primarily to overcome the difficulty of interpretation, and if he is cautious and conservative, while he will probably make mistakes, he can make many statements approximately correct. As soon, however, as he begins to deal with contemporary diplomacy and affairs of state he finds himself in hopeless dilemma. He cannot know these things unless he is himself an important diplomat, and if he is such a person he cannot reveal them.

All this Professor Usher knows. Once he states it clearly (p. 116), and several times he alludes to it. He forgets it, however, while he is composing much of his book. He relates recent diplomatic agreements with as much assurance as Sir

William Temple describes the bargaining at Nymwegen; nor could Macaulay be more decisive in his statements. All the hoarded secrets of Sir Edward Grey, Count von Aehrenthal, and Raymond Poincaré might enable the writer to give the accounts which he does give, but as it is, his descriptions sometimes bring his book perilously near to imagination and romance. How can he know that the United States has entered into an alliance with the Triple Entente (p. 152), or that Italy was offered Tripoli to draw her out of the Triple Alliance (p. 178)? These and many more things may be true and they may not, but no historian can do more than state them as plausible conjectures based upon appearances.

Various faults and minor errors may be noticed. There is in some places a tendency toward careless reasoning. "Pan-Germanism" is not clearly defined at the start, and though this is afterwards done in several places, the complete definition is rather obtained by reading the entire work. I cannot agree that England is unable to produce the raw material to build her fleet (p. 33.), that Germany has no subject races to pacify (p. 64), that the German army ready for immediate fighting is four times as large as the French (p. 65), or that at the beginning of the Balkan War the real Turkish army was in Tripoli (p. 215).

The reviewer knows that it is as easy to condemn a book of this kind as it is difficult to write one. It is, then, with the more pleasure that he turns to the positive merits which it possesses. In general the style is clear and vigorous, and there is not a dull page anywhere. Altogether, there is probably no better statement of what is at the present time the most important problem in world politics. The chapter on the justifiability of Pan-Germanism is admirable (pp. 230-250), and I have particularly noticed the explanation of the German opinions about the changed conditions which have altered England's strategic position and her political and economic superiority (pp. 19-36), the excellent discussion of the new strategic conditions which affect her naval supremacy (pp. 40-42), the economic strength of England and France (pp. 75-84), and the altered conditions in the eastern Mediterranean since the occupation of Tripoli by the Italians (p. 186). The faults of the book are

largely those of attitude and method, and if the reader will bear in mind the author's point of view, that many of his assertions are only shrewd guesses and plausible deductions, he will have as much profit as interest and pleasure.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

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THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. By Frederick Austin Ogg. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. xiv + 668. 1913.

This book, by a member of the faculty of Simmons College who will be remembered as the author of *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, as well as of a number of articles in the current periodicals, includes careful descriptions of the governments of the major and the minor states of western and central Europe. A briefer statement is given to political parties and to the institutions of local administration, and in the case of each government an account of its historical origin and growth so far as such growth immediately concerns the present political organization. The eight parts into which the volume is conveniently divided treat respectively of: Great Britain, 143 pages; Germany, 96; France, 64; Italy, 52; Switzerland, 37; Austria-Hungary, 75; the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium), 36; Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), 50; and the Iberian States (Spain and Portugal), 40. In his survey of this rather extensive field the author has, with the possible exception of Great Britain, successfully avoided the too-common error of devoting a disproportionate amount of space to constitutional history in a work which is primarily a descriptive study of actual government. The defects of Wilson's *The State* have in this respect been largely corrected, although the earlier work was a classic in its day and served its purpose well. Another book which Professor Ogg's volume admirably supplements is Lowell's *The Governments and Parties of Continental Europe*. But this, like Wilson's volume, has gone without revision so long as to render it unsuited to current classroom needs which are so adequately fulfilled by Professor Ogg's work, including as it does a number of the minor governments omitted in the older books, but from which many useful lessons may be drawn.